1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11

344 is a cone terminating in a point over the fire some 20 odd feet high. The rafters extend down from the apex of the cone beyond the twelve pillars, which are about 8 ft. high, to within 4 or 5 ft. of the ground, which space, of 4 or 5 ft., is closed entirely with earth. Between the pillars and the extreme exterior, a space of several feet, are seats of mats, like those of the sheds [in the Square]. The manner of constructing the roof is very remarkable for Indian work. Upon the alternate couples of the 12 pillars are first placed horizontal pieces, then upon the ends of these are placed other horizontal pieces between the other couples of pillars, then another series of horizontal pieces resting upon the second set, but drawn within towards the centre of the circle a few inches. Upon these again are other pieces still more drawn in. There are 4 tiers of horizontal pieces thus placed upon each other (fig. 4).

"A, b, c, d, are four of the twelve pillars. Pieces are first laid upon ab and upon cd, then a piece upon these and between bc, etc., etc. These horizontal pieces are strongly bound together by leather thongs of green hide. They are only carried up to the number of 4 sufficient for giving a direction and a foundation for the rafters, which are laid upon these, extending up to a point in one direction and in the other direction over [the] outside nearly to the ground. The rafters are strongly bound by thongs and covered with ordinary rived boards for shingles. There is but one small entrance to the House which is next towards the angle of the square adjacent to which the Round House stands." [a]

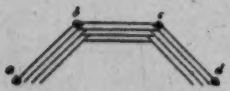

FIG. 4.—Structure of the roof of a Creek teokofa. (After Hitchcock)

[624] He adds that certain persons were appointed to preserve the buildings and that they were obliged to take the black drink every morning.

177 344 These descriptions, particularly that of Hawkins, agree with those I have myself obtained from old men who remember some of the hot houses that were built in Oklahoma. One had even heard that these buildings were anciently on mounds. In later times, however, the construction became much simpler. Some were made by resting poles on one end on an earthen wall and drawing the upper ends together at the center, the whole being covered with long boards. It is to be added that, although the seats ran all the way around this building on the inside, it was divided into separate "beds," maintaining the same general position as those in the "big house" out of doors. It was, as nearly as could be managed, an indoors version of the latter. During the Civil War most of these houses disappeared, and only one seems to have been built after that time, in this case by the people of Pakan tallahassee. One of the men who had participated

[a] Hitchcock, Ms. notes. The overlapping of the horizontal pieces in the sketch is crudely indicated, suggesting an outward rather than an inward flare.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11
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an address was delivered to him by a speaker appointed for that purpose in which his future duties and the expectations of the tribe regarding him were set forth. In 1912 the then chief of the Yuchi informed me that when he was installed he was placed upon a buckskin which had been dressed by a virgin, and in the speech which was made to him the other members of the tribe were called his "children" and his duties to them were set forth. He was told that all of the paths were white for him; that he was to be governed by that fact and shed

S. [344 621]

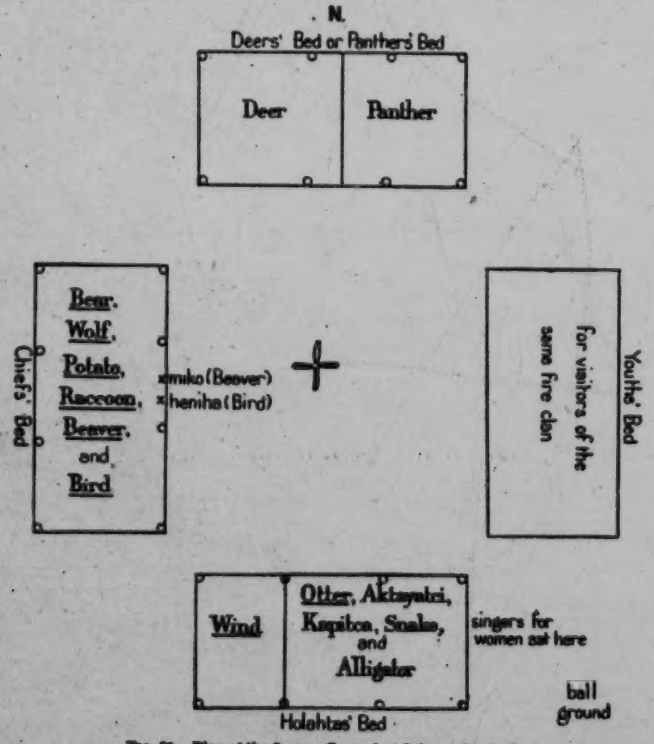

FIG. 66.—Plan of the Square Ground of Oakmulgee Seminole

no blood. The ceremony was completed by all passing around behind him in single file. This ceremony seems to have been common to all of the towns of the confederacy. It emphasizes the miko's close connection with affairs of peace.

C 622 624.

In Tukabahchee the organization was somewhat different, there being seven principal chiefs (mikági) who sat in the front seat of the Chiefs' bed, extending from the center to the southern end. Each of them had an assistant or heniha (an official to be noted presently). If the head miko, who sat in the center of the bed, did not succeed—

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11
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i. e., if the town did not prosper under him, whether he was responsible or not—or if his heniha died he had to surrender his place and move down to the foot of the row of mikos, the rest of whom moved up, and the man next to him took his place. Vacancies in the row of mikos were filled by the remaining mikos in consultation with the tàstànàgis, who were called over to the Chiefs' bed to confer about the matter. The man selected was escorted to his seat by another miko or by a tàstànàgi. Mention has already been made of the anomalous

S. [344 621]

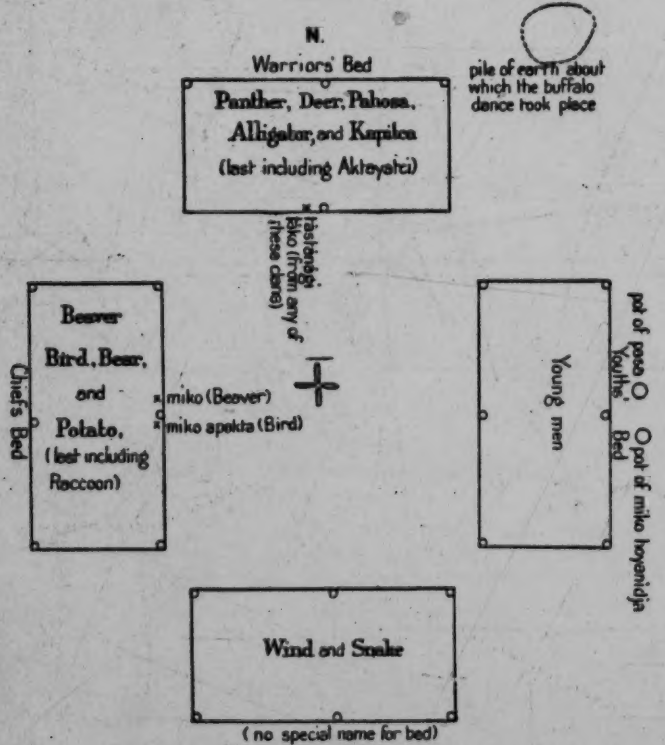

FIG. 57.—Plan of the Square Ground of Oktuskee Seminole

miko called Ispokogi miko, who perhaps enjoyed priestly functions, but of course nothing is known regarding the manner of his selection, the institution having died out too long ago.

C. 622

Tukabahchee preserves its old square organization very well and its system of government may be representative of that of other Creek towns, but I am inclined to think that considerable differences always existed. The Coweta head chief is said to have been elected at a meeting of the entire town, but the actual selection may have

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
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been entrusted to the White clans (see p. 281). Probably he was chosen in the same way as the second chief who is said to have been nominated by the White clans, and the nomination confirmed, merely as a matter of form, by the Tcilokis. According to Legus Perryman, the chiefs at Lutcapoga, along with the other officers of each of the three beds, were chosen by the members of the other two, the only limitation being in respect to the clan from which they could be taken.

The chiefs of the Texas Alabama were elected at a general meeting of the tribe, but this statement applies only to recent times, and

S. [344 621]

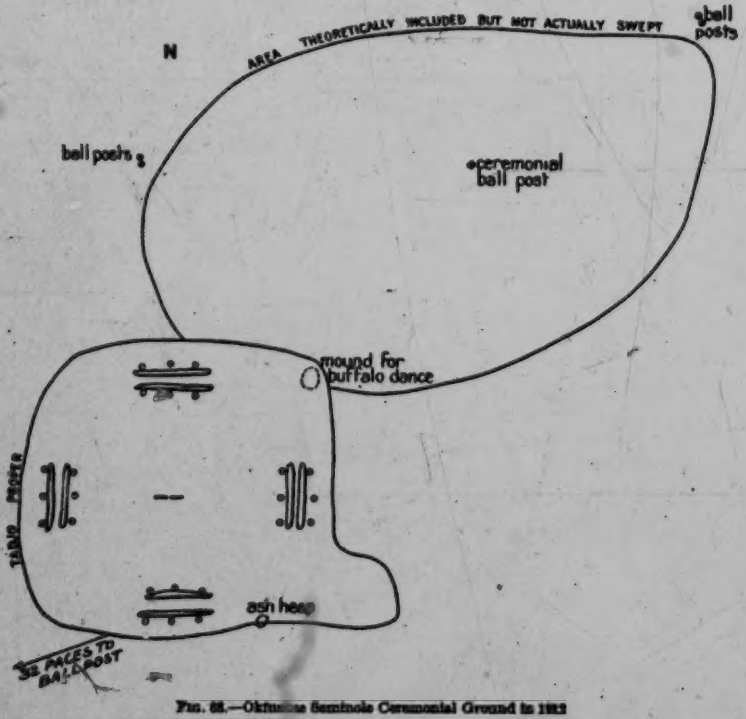

FIG. 68.—Oktuse Seminole Ceremonial Ground in 1912

before they left the other Creeks in Alabama their custom may have been different.

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As we have seen in the case of Tukabahchee, there were sometimes assistant chiefs. At Tukabahchee they were all of one clan, but sometimes they were of different clans, perhaps in such cases the heads of their respective clans, for we know that the oldest or most influential uncle in each presided at clan councils and advised his fellows regarding their conduct. This has been spoken of already. At Pakan tallahassee the miko, who belongs to the Aktayatci clan, sits

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11
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in the middle of the north bed, on his left his henîha, and on his right, in succession, a second chief of the Wind clan, a third chief of the Bear (or Panther) clan, and a fourth chief of the Bird (or Panther) clan.

Usually, however, there was one principal subordinate chief, or vice chief, miko apokta ("twin chief") as he was called, and the customs regarding him seem to have varied considerably from town

S. [344 621]

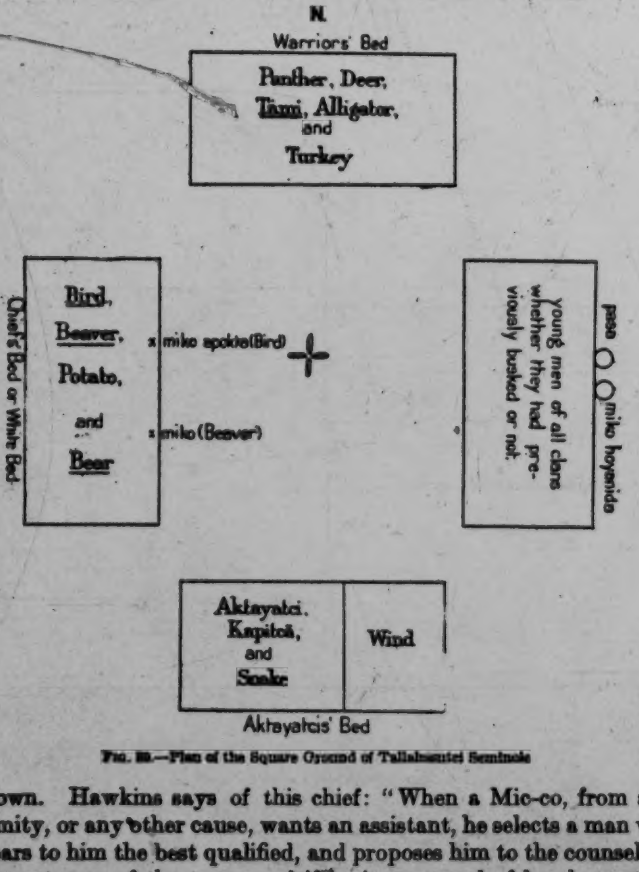

FIG. 88.—Plan of the Square Ground of Tallahassetci Seminole

to town. Hawkins says of this chief: "When a Mic-co, from age, infirmity, or any other cause, wants an assistant, he selects a man who appears to him the best qualified, and proposes him to the counsellors and great men of the town, and if he is approved of by them, they appoint him as an assistant in public affairs, and he takes his seat on this cabin accordingly." The second chief in Tulsa Canadian, Lutcapoga, and probably in the other Tulsa towns as well, belonged to the Beaver clan, the same as that which furnished the first chief. According to Legus Perryman, the second chief of Lutcapoga was

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
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called the ita'lwa mi'ko. He was assistant to the head chief and, while the authority of the latter extended over the town as a whole, he concerned himself with matters of a more local character, particularly those connected with the square. He might be called the "square chief." Similarly, the second chief of Coweta, who was taken from the Panther clan, is said to have been "chief of the square," while the head chief was "speaker for the other towns friendly to Coweta." This may refer back to the time when the Coweta chief was also chief of all the Lower Creeks. The second chief of Liwahali is said to have been of the Aktayatci or Fox clan and to have taken charge if, for any reason, the miko had to leave the square ground. In Likatcha the miko belonged to the Alligator clan and the miko apokta to the Bear. I was informed that at Chiaha the miko and heniha were both taken from the Bear clan, but the miko apokta must have been intended instead of the heniha. From Speck it appears that the position of miko apokta at Tuskegee was of a less permanent character. He says: "If the *miko* could not leave his town he appointed a delegate who bore his title to attend the councils of other towns or those of the Confederacy."[1]

S.
[344]

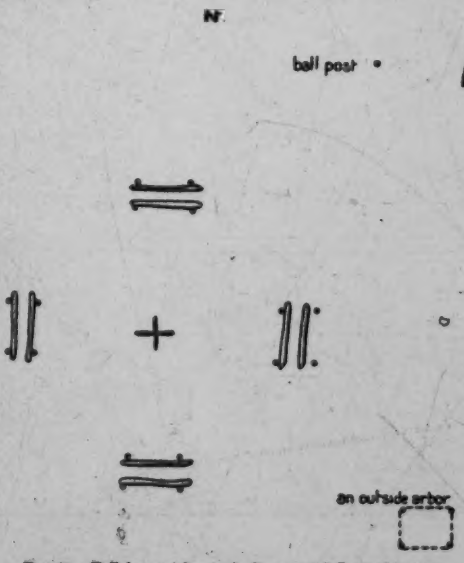

FIG. 90.—Tallahassuti Seminole Ceremonial Ground in 1913

Connected evidently with the institution of a miko apokta was a condition reported from several towns in which the chieftainship alternated between two clans. I was informed that in Tcatoksofka such an alternation took place between the Bear and Beaver clans. If the head chief belonged to the Bear clan and the second chief to the Beaver clan, and the former died the latter would become head chief, a member of the Bear clan being chosen as second chief. In Tuskegee a similar alternation took place between the Bear and Wind clans, and in the old Abihka town near Eufaula an alternation is reported between the Bear and Raccoon. This Abihka square has, however, long been given up and the other Abihka towns do not seem

[1] Speck in Mem. Am. Anthrop. Assn., vol. II, p. 113.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Seminole NN16

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to have preserved the custom, although in two of them the chiefs are Bear and the henihas Raccoon. In the Seminole town of Talahasutci there is said to have been an alternation between the Beaver and the Bird clans. I was told that, after the last reorganization of the Hitchiti square in which the miko was taken from the Bird clan and the heniha from the Deer, in an emergency the latter could be made miko and the former heniha.

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In addition to the chiefs, second chiefs, and similar leaders there was anciently a considerable body of persons called mikági, or mikálgi,

S. [344 621]

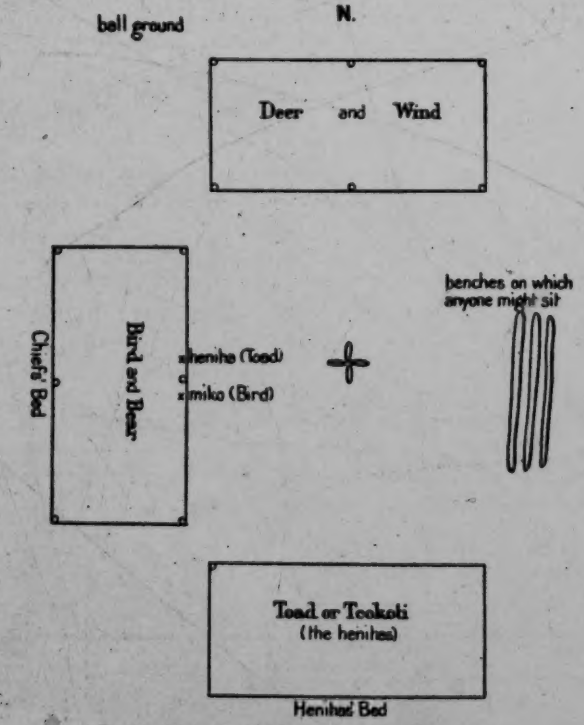

FIG. 61.—Plan of the Square Ground of Hitchiti Seminole

the plural of miko, who performed minor functions. These were ordinarily taken from the same clan as the head miko, though it may be possible that the appellation was extended beyond under certain circumstances, particularly in later times. It is even possible that the name may have been bestowed at the busk on account of an ancestor who had this title and with no office or dignity attached. All we can say is that the mikági belonged theoretically, and usually, to the clan of the head miko. The following account of this class by

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
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Stiggins contains practically all that we know about them. Its importance must be allowed to compensate for the execrable English in which it is cast:

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"For a better distribution of their public business, such as public work of planting and tending in corn, &c., their public town field and gathering their Eupon or Cassine leaves for their black drink—when every man of age is obliged to attend and do his part or be fined according to his circumstances—the inhabited parts of the nation

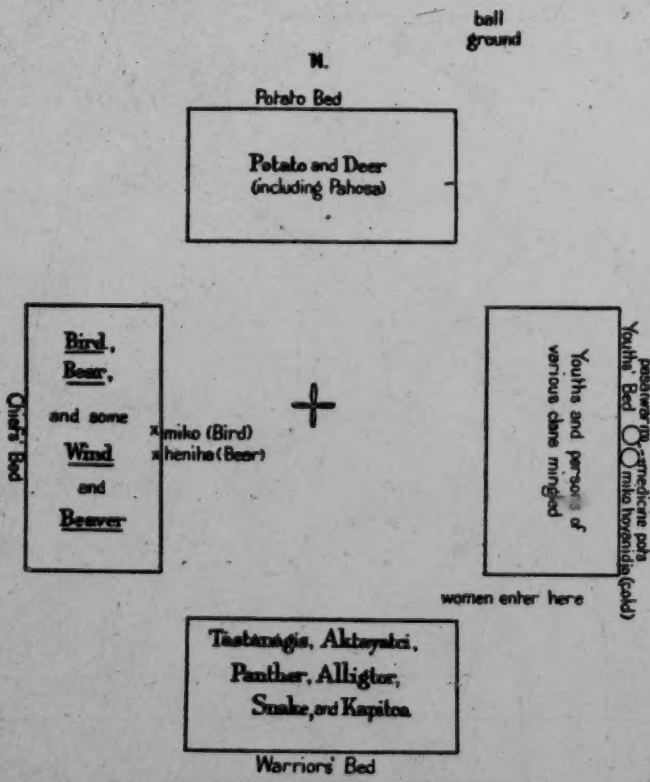

FIG. 94.—Plan of the Square Ground of Tiwahali Seminole (I)

are laid out into town districts designated from some creek, ridge, or point to some other noted point, which boundary is organized into certain town corporated precincts under the moral guardianship of their *mic cul ga* which term is the plural of *mic co*, a term of gradation more applicable to the office of overseer or guardian in my conception than to that of a King, (as most people will interpret it,) as many towns have at least one tenth of its population for *mic cul ga*

l: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
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which is none too many for guardians to watch over them and moralize their conduct, but it is constituting by far too many kings for one town or principality. When it is thought necessary for the principal men or committee of townsmen to make a new *mic co*, they proceed very ceremoniously in their rude way to his inauguration, *to wit* without his being previously consulted on the subject, when they have made the determination to effect it, and at their townhouse assembly they advance up to him, and call him at the same time in a

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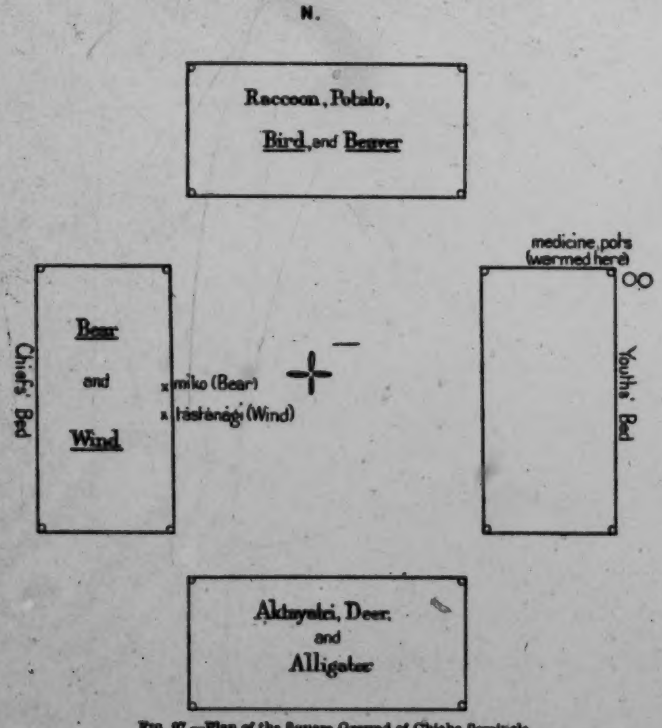

FIG. 97.—Plan of the Square Ground of Chiaha Seminole

loud, long, and shrill tone by a name that he is thereafter to go by, with the addition of *mic co*, for instance such as *yo ho lo micco* or *Ispocoga mic co*, etc.; and at the same time they smear his face all over with white clay, a ceremony imitating in importance the accolade of knighthood and Sir. Though some of the *miccos* do rise to be principal chiefs it is by merit, for nominal office [of the mic cul ga] is for town purposes to admonish, regulate, and keep in peace the members of their town people by whom they are regarded with respect and deference. There are other applicable Sir names given to

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11
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distinguish their grade in their town police. They attend the appointed national calls only as mutes, for in the national assembly none have a voice but such as are appointed to national purposes."[33]

The henihálgi were devoted to peace even more than the mikági. As I have shown elsewhere, a White clan was almost always chosen for this office, and originally the position appears to have been a particular prerogative of the Wind people.[33a] Their section in the

S. [344 621]

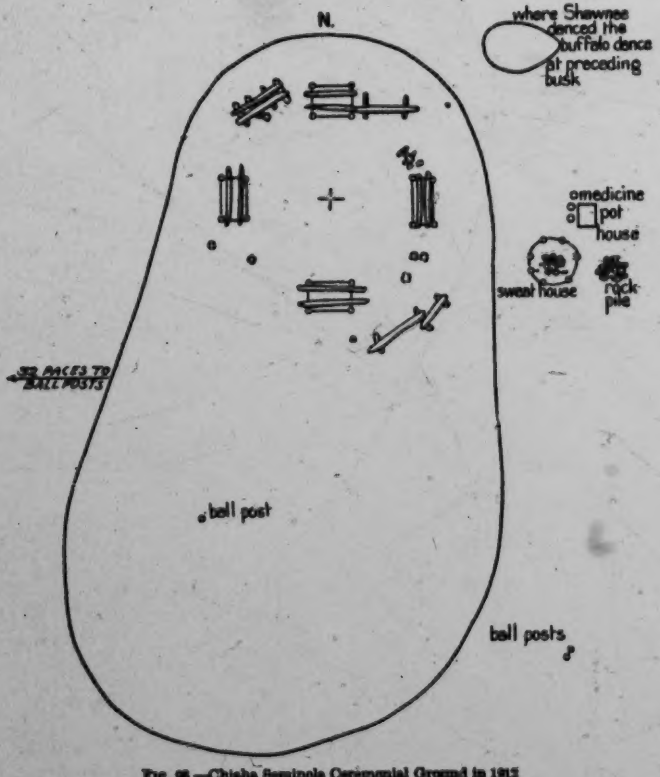

FIG. 98.—Chiaha Seminole Ceremonial Ground in 1915

square ground was usually known as the "White bed" and was often diametrically opposite that of the Warriors. Hawkins says of the henihálgi: "These have the direction of the public works appertaining to the town, such as the public buildings, building houses in town for new settlers, or working in the fields. They are particularly charged with the ceremony of the a-ce (a decoction of the

[33] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 15.

[33a] See pp. 184–186.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
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cassine yupon, called by the traders black drink), under the direction of the mic-co." [34] They thus constituted a kind of Creek Department of the Interior. In some towns, in conjunction with the Bear clan, they had particular charge of the feathers used in the "feather dance." In Tukabahchee every miko, tástánágí, and imala láko was accompanied by a heniha who sat at his left, and when an official was sent on an errand a heniha had to accompany him. Since in

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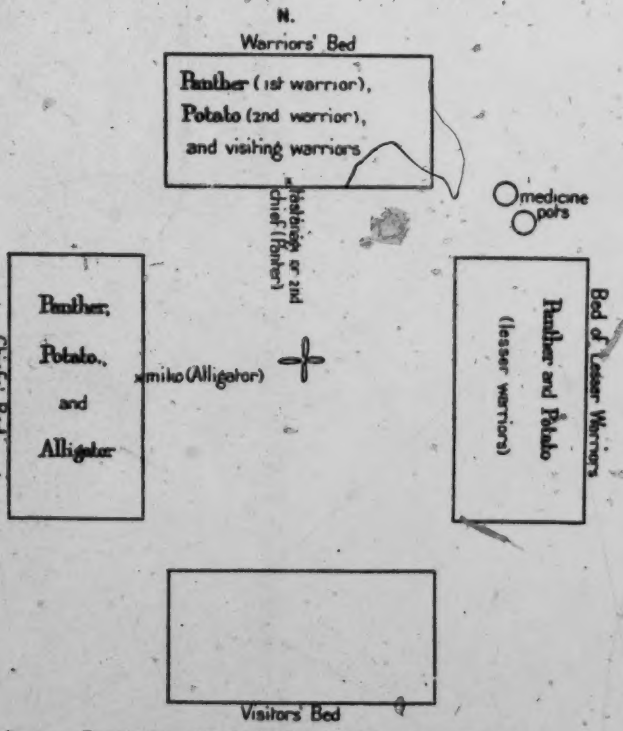

FIG. 90.—Plan of the Square Ground of Mikasuki Seminole (I)

this town the mikos and most of the tástánágis and imalas belonged to the Red clans while the busk was a peace ceremony the association of henihas with these may have been for the purpose of securing or marking the prevalence of peace. A similar custom probably prevailed in other towns, but it has generally fallen into disuse. Its vestigial character at Tuskegee is shown by the report on these officials made to Doctor Speck: "There were always two men of recognized ability in dancing, having also a knowledge of the rites,

[34] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 60. In Chiaha, at least, it was one of their functions to compose differences; see pp. 553, 555 in the paper following.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11
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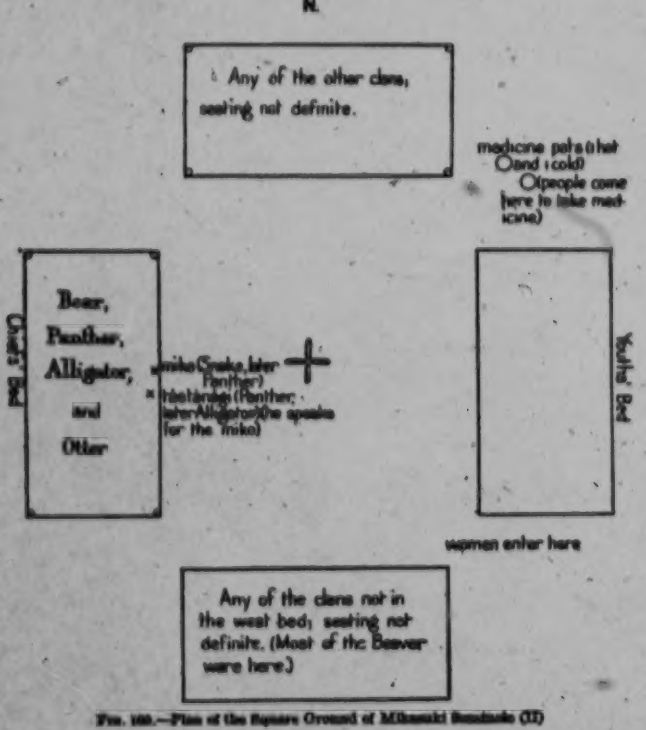
who were known as *Ániha*, or *Ániha lákko*. Their occupation was chiefly to procure leaders for the various dances or to lead themselves, and to encourage the participants when they became fatigued." [26]

It is generally agreed that the henihálgi, along with the mikágí, and the ísti átca'gágí, a class to be considered later, formed the council of the head miko. According to Jackson Lewis, these officials governed the entire town and laid down certain regulations which a

S. [344 621]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Any of the other clans, seating not definite.
medicine pots (hot and cold)
(people come here to take medicine)
Bear, Panther, Alligator, and Otter
Chiefs' Bed
miko (Snake, later Panther)
hástánake (Panther, later Alligator) (the speaks for the miko)
Youths' Bed
women enter here
Any of the clans not in the west bed; seating not definite. (Most of the Beaver were here.)

FIG. 103.—Plan of the Square Ground of Mikasuki Seminole (II)

man from the Warriors' bed was called upon to announce. According to one or two men the miko's heniha was the one who made announcements, delivered the "long talks" at the busk grounds and called out the new titles which were conferred. This may have been the case in later times when the square grounds had begun to show signs of disorganization, but I think it was not true of the organization when it was intact. On the contrary, this function seems to have been performed by the chief's yatika or interpreter.

[26] Speck in Mem. Am. Anthrop. Assn., vol. 5, p. 134.

1; Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Seminole NN16

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The yatika was chosen by preference from the clan of the chief but could be taken from any, and he usually sat beside the chief during the ceremonial so that he could interpret his wishes to the assembly. Sometimes, or during a part of the ceremony, he sat by himself. At Ĺwahali he is said to have been seated in the middle of the south or Warriors' bed.

There was only one holibonaya or "war speaker" in a town at a time, and probably some towns were without any. He was not

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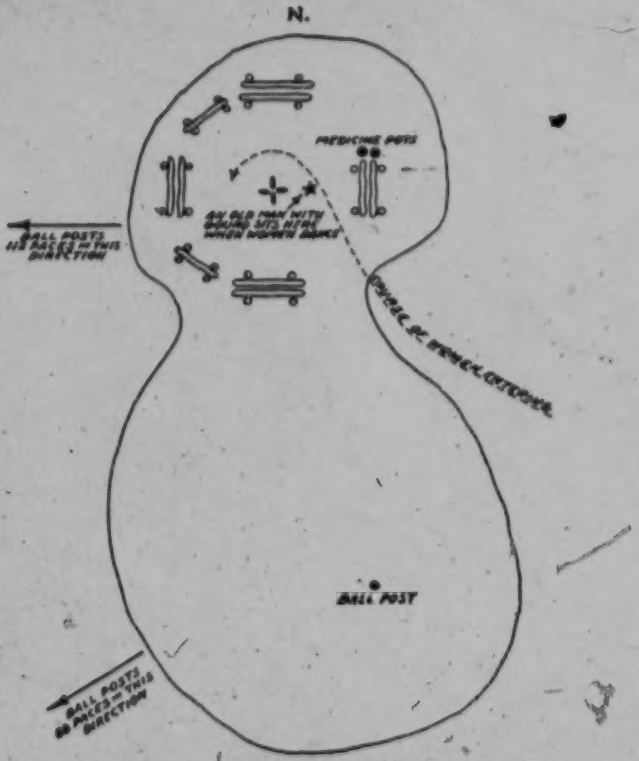

FIG. 101.—Mikasuki Seminole Ceremonial Ground in 1932

necessarily a warrior and was taken by preference from the clan of the chief. Hoboi-hilyahola, however, the greatest war speaker the Creeks ever had, and one of their greatest men, belonged to the Potato clan at Tukabahchee. At Kasihta the seat of the war speaker was in the corner of the Warriors' bed nearest the bed of the chiefs. A common speaker was called Asimbonaya.

I am somewhat uncertain regarding the relations existing between the yatika and holibonaya, for it is said of each of them that he was

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

"the best speaker in the town." The two offices may sometimes have been combined, but it is evident that they were usually distinct.

In Tukabahchee and all of those towns of which the ancient organization has been preserved, either in the memories of the Indians or in fact, there were three general classes of war officials. The highest were the tástánágálgi, the next in rank the imala lákâ'lgi, or "big imalas," and the third the imala lábotakálgi or "little imalas." At Tukabahchee, and probably in the greater number of towns, the tástánágis sat at the western end of the north bed, but, as I have shown elsewhere, their position varied, and sometimes the tástánágis and imalas were seated in different beds. The Tukabahchee arrangement is given by Hawkins as that in Kasihta in his time. He does not indeed give the Indian names of the various grades of warriors but he states that there were three of them and that promotion was regular from lowest to highest. In most towns the tástánágis and imalas received their positions on account of warlike feats, not because of ancestry or clan connection. One of my informants said that a tástánágí was a man who "carried out the determinations of the town." The leader of the tástánágis was usually known as the tástánágí lákó, "big warrior," and Hawkins states that he was selected from among the tástánágis by the miko and isti átcagágí.[86] According to the same writer the highest title to which a warrior could aspire was that of "Great Leader" (Is-te-puc-cau-chau thlucco [isti pákatca lákó]), which required "a long course of years and great and numerous successes in war." The head warrior of Tukabahchee was known as the Tástánágí simiabaiya.[86] He was privileged to call the whole town together. According to a Coweta informant, in his town the tástánágis were elected by the head men of the town from the Red clans, but, although it is probable that, on account of the theory regarding them, more warriors would arise from the Red than from the White clans, they were certainly not drawn exclusively from such clans. These officials all had to do with war and with the ball game which is called "the brother of the war." War, while decided upon in council, was announced by the Big Warrior. According to a Coweta informant ball games were arranged by the Big Warriors of the towns concerned, each taking such assistants as he desired, but in Kasihta there was a special official, the halísi tástánágí, who attended to such matters. The Tástánágis were also the native police, the Big Warrior being "chief of police"; they carried out the decisions of the miko and the isti átcagágis, and they punished any one who

FIG. 102.—Face painting used by the Tuskegee Indians. The spots in solid black represent red; the cross-hatched spots green

[86] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 70.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

failed to obey the laws and regulations of the council or who failed to attend the annual busk. When matters of great importance were to be discussed they were called over to the Chiefs' bed to take part in the deliberations; on other occasions matters were sent over to them to be ferreted out.

As happened with the henihas, the functions of the tástánágis became much altered in later times, and in many Seminole towns there was but one tástánágí, who took the places of the old yatika and chief's heniha. In Tuskegee they seem to have supplanted both the subordinate mikos and the isti átcagágí as counsellors to the chief. Speck says that they "formed the chief's council which decided matters of public importance," and that they "were the actual potentates of the town in affairs of war or in its relations with other tribes."[38] They also acted as a local police, and executed the sentences imposed upon criminals by the local courts established after the removal to Oklahoma. This, however, was really a continuation of their duties as police officers for the old council of chiefs.

Milfort speaks of the "tastanégy" as if he were the head war chief of the entire Creek Nation, but ordinarily there does not appear to have been a permanent official of this kind. Nevertheless what he has to say of this official is probably applicable to the tástánágí láko of each town:

"His mission consisted in directing all of the war operations, in taking all measures necessary to revenge an injury inflicted on the nation and in defending its rights. He was invested with authority sufficient for this purpose; but this authority, which made him the first sentinel of the state, the father and the buckler of the motherland, lasted only so long as the danger; once peace was reestablished and the troops returned into the bosom of the nation, he again became a plain citizen, and was only the first soldier. If he had not given occasion for any complaint during the exercise of his authority, he always preserved the right to resume his post on the first necessity; and for that same purpose he was charged with the duty of watching over the public safety continually, and informing the peace chiefs of injuries inflicted on the nation, or matters which might disturb its tranquillity."[39]

Milfort's description of the ceremonial to which he claims that he was subjected when he was made tástánágí is also worth reproducing. As above stated, the position which he assigns to himself was altogether superior to that of an ordinary tástánágí, but under McGillivray many innovations were introduced into the Creek political organization, and a head warrior for the entire nation may have been one of them. Whether Milfort actually went through such a

[38] Speck, in Mem. Am. Anthrop. Assn., vol. 2, p. 12. [39] Milfort, Voy., pp. 286-288.

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ceremony or not, all of the features of it which he gives are true to aboriginal Creek life and must have been learned from observation if not from experience. It is of particular interest to notice that the use of a litter for principal personages seems to have been preserved until nearly the end of the eighteenth century. Probably it had survived ceremonially long after it had been supplanted in other ways by the horse.

Milfort's account is as follows:

"A part of the assembly repaired to my house; and, when all had arrived, one of the old men made me ascend a kind of litter covered with a bear skin, surrounded with garlands of ivy leaves, and borne by four band chiefs. When I was placed on this litter, they set forward to return to the grand cabin. The following order of march was observed.

"Many young warriors, each bearing in his hand an eagle tail fastened to a stick, marched on, dancing, making contortions, and uttering terrifying cries. They were preceded by a master of ceremonies, who had in his hand a coconut attached to a stick, in which seeds were enclosed, so that he could beat time by shaking it. He had moreover at his side a young savage who accompanied him on a kind of tabor. In front, behind, and on each side of my litter, marched old band chiefs, each of whom also bore in his hands an eagle tail, part of which was painted red. Last came six priests or medicine men, who had on their shoulders two deer skins after the style of a chasuble, the hairs of which had been preserved, and who carried in one hand a swan's wing, and in the other the plant which is used in making the war medicine which is taken during this ceremony.[40]

"When we approached the grand cabin, the procession halted; a priest then came to meet us accompanied by two young warriors, each of whom bore a great gourd with an opening above large enough to insert the hand. These gourds were painted red, and contained water, in which had been put the juice of the plant of which I have just spoken. This priest stopped about twenty paces from us, and there, dipping his hands into this water, he made an aspersion, singing a hymn or invocation to the genius of war. When he was through, all of the chiefs who were awaiting us in the grand cabin, set out to meet us, marching six abreast. When they had gotten near this priest, they dipped their hands into these same gourds, and moistened their faces; then the six priests who were behind me advanced to them, and with one hand placed the herb which they held on their faces, and with the other passed the swans' wings over them as if to wipe it off. As soon as the chiefs had undergone this ceremony they returned to the cabin; and, when they had all

[40] Evidently the fat.

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entered, the six priests or medicine men resumed their places behind my litter, and we all repaired there together. The old man who had placed me on the litter, came at once to help me descend, and placed me on a bison skin which had been prepared for this purpose. Then the whole assembly drank the cassine or the tea-like drink, and for twenty-four hours they took nothing but the war medicine.

"I had not yet drunk this medicine although I had been made a little war chief and I had commanded in the place of the grand chief, because I had taken care to make for myself a particular medicine; for it is indispensable to have one in order to be assured of the confidence of the savages; but this time it was necessary to imitate the assembly, and drink the general medicine. I was not long in experiencing a strong feeling of sickness, which forced me to eject all of the medicine I had taken, and to imitate the assembly in that. This very disgusting ceremony lasted until sunrise next day. Then the entire assembly undressed, and we went, absolutely naked, into a circular cabin where the priests had gone to await us. Each of them had brought thither a brass kettle, in which they had had the war medicine boiled. Shortly afterward the subordinate chiefs brought stones which they had heated red hot in the fire in the center; and the priests, while singing, threw upon them the water which was contained in the two gourds of which I have already sopken which occasioned a dreadful heat and steam. The entire assembly was in a very profuse perspiration, and it was so great on all parts of my body that, although I was very healthy, I thought that it would be impossible to resist it. We remained in this condition about half an hour, and then part of the chiefs went out of the cabin, the priests surrounded me, and we all left and went immediately to throw ourselves into a river a short distance from the cabin. It was not without much fear that I decided to imitate the entire assembly in that; it appeared to me very dangerous in the perspiring condition in which I then was to throw myself at once into the cold water; but it was impossible for me to do otherwise, and I suffered nothing more than the fear (j'en fus quitte pour la peur). I think, however, that the purgation which I had undergone in drinking the war medicine, prevented the ill effects of such a bath. On going out of the water, where we remained only a short time, each one dressed himself, and we returned to the grand cabin, in which a magnificent repast awaited us. The young people then had permission to enter the square in the grand cabin, to dance around the fire, which burned continually during the entire period of this ceremony, lasting three days, during which no member of the assembly was allowed to go outside of the compass of the square, or to sleep. I was so much the more under obligations to remain there with the assembly, as it was for me alone that the ceremony took place.

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"I was seated in a distinguished place, and I had priests on both sides; if I happened to get drowsy, one threw fresh water in my face, and the other rubbed it with little stones, which he had taken care to put into some water beside me for this purpose. 624 701 796

"The three days having elapsed I was conducted home in the same manner as had been observed in bringing me to the grand cabin. When we arrived there the oldest chief proclaimed my appointment, and informed me that I was now the first sentinel of the nation, at whose voice all of the young warriors were prepared to march; that the ordeals through which I had just passed, had for their object to make me understand that nothing must cause my zeal to relax, and that I must bear with equal courage cold, heat, and hunger, in order to defend the interests of the nation. When the old man had finished the assembly broke up, and each person returned to his home."[a]

The imalas were of course of less importance; in the progressive decline of Creek institutions few towns have retained them, and many people have forgotten there ever was such a class of officials. By one informant an imala was described as "a man whose advice was worth receiving anywhere." I was told that at Tukabahchee the big imalas were called into council by the Chiefs along with the tástánágis on rare occasions, but this was never done in the case of the little imalas. Nevertheless a question might be referred from the town council to the tástánágis to be considered by them and all of the imalas in a separate council: The imalas acted in general as assistants and messengers for the tástánágis, and performed the smaller services. 624

Below the imalas were the tásikayálgi. This word is now used in the general sense of "citizens" but it means "warriors" and originally designated the common warriors, those who had received busk names but as yet had done nothing to merit further promotion. Hawkins says of them: "The second class of warriors [he treats the tástánágis and imalas as one class] is the Tusse-ki-ul-gee. All who go to war, and are in company, when a scalp is taken, get a war name. The leader reports their conduct, and they receive a name accordingly. This is the Tus-se-ki-o-chif-co, or *war name.*"[a] It would seem, therefore, that the name tásikayálgi applied to all those in the fourth bed and that tásikayálgi intupa might very well be a synonym for tcibánágálgi intupa, "youths' bed," the term usually given to it nowadays. As a matter of fact I find it used for that very bed by the Nuyaka Indians. 624 701

There is one other class of officials to be noted and this an important one, but a class which has fallen so much into abeyance 624

[a] Millet, Voy., pp. 220-228. [a] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 70.

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•624 that it is now difficult to determine its exact status and functions. It is the class of isti àtcagàgi, "revered," "sacred" or "beloved men." We are assisted in forming some conception of them, fortunately, by Hawkins, who, in his account of the Kasihta square, calls the south bed the "is-te-chague-ul-gee in-too-pau, the cabin of the beloved men," and he describes these men from whom it was named thus:

"There are great men who have been war leaders, and who although of various ranks, have become estimable in a long course of public service. They sit themselves on the right division of the cabin of the Mic-co, and are his counsellors. The family of the Mic-co, and great men who have thus distinguished themselves, occupy this cabin of the beloved men."[48]

I was told that these men are the "foundation" of the busk, by which I understand it is meant that they furnish the brains that keeps the busk alive and in proper order. In fact some old Hilibi Indians referred to them as "the brains of the busk." They are exempt from taking any part in the duties, dances, etc., connected with the busk except the taking of the medicines. The same Indians stated that they held meetings in advance and planned the preparation of the beds, the camps, and every part of the program. There were only a few in each town. In Tukabahchee there were four in the north bed, four in the south bed, and four in the east bed, and each of these had a leader. The four in the south bed were called isti àtcagàgi sûlga, and they belonged to the Raccoon clan, that of the miko. The others were taken from different clans. Jackson Lewis stated that the isti àtcagàgi were of the same clan as the miko, or of related clans, but this statement could have applied only to the isti àtcagàgi sûlga. In Tukabahchee the name of each was a title borne in succession by each person elected to fill the position after the death of the previous incumbent. Kealedji was organized much like Tukabahchee, but the isti àtcagàgi sûlga sat at the south end of the Chiefs' bed instead of in the south bed. At Łaplàko there were a few isti àtcagàgi in the west or Chiefs' bed. At Łàlogàlga there was until lately one isti àtcagàgi, a Panther, I believe. At Talladega there were about three in each of the three beds of the town. In the square of the Western Abihka town there were four isti àtcagàgi in the Warriors' bed and some at each post in the bed belonging to the Wind clan; also some in the west bed. In this town it was the isti àtcagàgi who arranged ball games. My informant regarding the Kan-tcati ground said that there were none of these officials there in his time. In Otciapofa there were four isti àtcagàgi to each of the three beds. At Okfuskee there were two isti àtcagàgi in the east bed and one in each of the others.

[48] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, pp. 70-71.

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At Upper Eufaula there was one of these men in each of the three beds, the one in the north belonging to the Bear clan, that in the east to the Deer clan, and that in the south to the Aktayatci clan. These men gave new names to boys. In Wiogufki there were no isti ătcagâgi, and only one tăstănâgi, who performed the functions of those officials. When the last Hitchiti square ground was organized the tăstănâgis and imalas were used in place of the isti ătcagâgi. In Alabama their place was taken by the tăstănâgis alone. According to one of my informants, in Pakan tallahassee the Bird clan was used as isti ătcagâgi, and the Wind clan is said to have performed their functions in Okchai. At Łiwahali they appointed the tăstănâgis.

At Tuskegee they seem to have lost their official position. "A man who amassed property," says Speck; "or raised himself in public esteem by other means was called *isti adjâqa*, 'man beloved.' No civil office, however, was indicated by this title, but those bearing it occupied a certain place in the lodges about the square. In a general way 'beloved men' also means those who have observed all the dietary taboos of the ceremonies, and even, in its broadest sense, those who have undergone the purging and taken their part in the religious performances."[44]

Putting together the fact, apparent in most towns of which we have information, that the isti ătcagâgi were scattered about in the different beds with what Hawkins tells us and the small items of information that may still be gathered it is fairly plain who these "beloved men" were. They were evidently the elders or veterans of the town who had passed through the various degrees of advancement but were probably not fit for active field service against an enemy. Their experience was, however, of maximum value to the community, and hence they governed the busk and were custodians of information regarding this and regarding the lore of the tribe generally. Therefore they were at the same time counsellors to the chief and the more active officials. Although the henihâlgi are now generally regarded as the chief's counsellors there is evidence that anciently they occupied a position of less prominence in this regard than the isti ătcagâgi. It will be noticed that Hawkins gives their name to the bed usually called after the henihas, while he actually seats them in a position in the chiefs' bed which the henihas often occupied. It is true that in many towns tăstănâgis have assumed their places but this is a result of a still further collapse of the old social organization, isti ătcagâgi having given way first to henihâlgi and both later to tăstănâgâlgi. The "beloved men," it should be remembered, were neither devoted entirely to war nor entirely to peace, and therefore their functions could very well fall in part to the peace officials and in part to the war officials. It seems to have

[44] Speck in Mem. Am. Anthrop. Assn., vol. II, p. 114.

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624 been this class which was pointed out to Milfort as the real rulers of the Creek nation when he inquired for their "king."[45]

624 614 Particular attention should be called to the differentiation of the isti àtcagàgi belonging to the clan of the chiefs as isti àtcagàgi sûlga in Tukabahchee and elsewhere. This differentiation indicates the invasion of the clan and hereditary ideas into an institution mainly based on merit. I do not mean that it necessarily represents a later development, yet it was the side of the institution which became more pronounced in later times. Even an informant as old as Jackson Lewis, in describing the isti àtcagàgi—probably as recognized in Eufaula—says that the term was applied to the men of the same clan as that of the town chief or to men of related clans. He adds that they sat in the central part of the north bed and embraced those who would succeed to the chieftaincy. As we have seen, they were not solely of the royal clan, but it is probably true that those who happened to belong in this group often became chiefs. In Pakan tallahassee and Okchai the hereditary tendency has gone so far that the term is applied to members of the Bird and Wind clans, respectively. It is to be added that the same evolution has taken place with another merit group, the tàstànàgis. At old Abihka near Eufaula I was told that the Raccoon clan were the tàstànàgis, at Kan-tcati the tàstànàgis were of the Panther clan, and at Lutcapoga and Łikatcka of the Aktayatci. At Mikasuki part of the Panther clan is called the "first warriors," part of the Potato clan the "second warriors," and parts of both the "lesser warriors." Nothing could show the decline of the system better than the idea expressed by one of my informants that all of the occupants of a certain bed were at the same time tàstànàgis, tcilokis, and henihas. In Tukabahchee, where the old system is still partially in force, it yet happens that most of the tàstànàgis belong to the Raccoon or royal clan, most of the big imalas to the Potato, and most of the little imalas to the Panther and Bear. It must be remembered, however, that the two first classes were accompanied at the busk by henihas of the Wind clan. We find, furthermore, that certain clans from the Red side are particularly associated with war and often sit in the same bed as the warriors from whom many of their members were chosen, and no doubt this is the real reason why they came in time to be confounded with them. As shown elsewhere, the clans principally associated with war and oftenest seated in the Warriors' bed were the Panther, Deer, Raccoon, Potato, and Aktayatci.[45a] Regarding the Panther, I have evidence that there was a mental association of the characteristics of the animal with the occupation, and I was told in the case of the lesser imalas among the Tukabahchee that they were taken from the Panther and Bear because those two animals have a fierce

[45] Milfort, Mém., pp. 208-209.

[45a] See p. 227.

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disposition—and this in spite of the almost universal classification of the Bear as a peace clan. Further evidence of degeneration is shown in some of the Seminole towns in Oklahoma where a singe tástánagi has usurped the functions of both the chief's heniha and the miko apokta.

624 554

At Tukabahchee, and probably the other principal Creek towns as well, the isti átcagágí, the tástánágis, and some of the other classes bore names which were passed on to their successors, and hence amounted to titles. In fact the war names owned by each clan were thus passed on and were therefore rather titles than true names. Since these titles were conferred under state auspices the persons bearing them might be regarded as officials and from that fact possessed of a share in its government. The government of a Creek town or little state, for such it really was, is thus seen to have rested on bodies of men owing their positions partly to descent and partly to recognized prowess in war. When it was in its prime it is probable that merit vastly overbalanced, the isti átcagágis, tástánágis, imalas, and tásikayas having owed their positions mainly, at least, to individual accomplishments. Although the mikágí and henihálgi had to do with peace mainly, they had gone through with the war discipline and had been selected from among the warriors. While they must always belong to certain clans they were, beyond that restriction, elective, and, as these clans were usually numerous, a considerable choice could be exercised. While it is true that the legislative and executive power was vested in a small number of people these were persons who had, for the most part, worked their way up by their talents and bravery, and were really representative of the native ideals of what was highest and most worthy. A power of recall was also exercised in the case of the chief and it is probable that we should find that the same power existed in effect over the other offices. A separation of governmental functions had begun in some particulars, the henihas being a kind of Department of the Interior concerned with the pursuits of peace, and the various classes of warriors, particularly the tástánágis, a department concerned with war, and also constituting an internal police.

554 302

Speck is the only authority for the use of face paintings to mark differences in rank. He says:

"Facial painting was employed to indicate rank in the town. Persons bearing the title of *miko* or *hiniha* wore black paint on one side of the face and red on the other, coloring either the whole face or only the space around the eyes. The second pattern belonged to ordinary initiated men having the title *taskáya* and consisted of four stripes, from the cheek-bone to the angle of the jaw, alternating in red and yellow." [a]

[a] Speck in Mem. Am. Anthrop. Assn., vol. II, p. 114.

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614 The question naturally arises whether some of these clans may not have been brought in with formerly independent tribes. All we can say is that certain clans are more prominent in some of these tribes than among the true Muskogee but whether they were brought in by them we do not know. Thus, as just mentioned, the Aktayatci was particularly prominent among the Hitchiti, as were the Snake, Kapitca and Woksi, and in a more pronounced manner the Toad, Mole, and Tcikote. The Daddy-long-legs and Salt were similarly associated with the Alabama, the former, indeed, being hardly known outside of that tribe.

616 Besides this division into phratral groups all of the clans were ranged in two moieties called respectively, Hathagâlgi, "White People," and Tcilokogâlgi, "People of a different speech." The Wind and Bear with their phratral associates were almost invariably White, and the Raccoon and Aktayatci and their allies almost invariably Tciloki. The Bird is usually White but among the Alabama and Koasati it is Tciloki. The Beaver is also White usually, but when it is associated with the Alligator and when the Alligator is not a White clan, the Beaver often becomes Tciloki. The Alligator is most often Tciloki but in a number of towns it is White. The Deer is usually Tciloki but it is White in a few towns. Today the Panther is almost always Tciloki but some of the oldest myths and some of my best informants assert that it was anciently White.

When I first went among the Creeks, I was told that in one or two towns the clan moieties were exogamous, but the greater number of my informants held the contrary opinion. I was much surprised, therefore, during my last visit to have most of my informants maintain that they were exogamous. This much is certain, that there were striking exceptions to this law in comparatively early times, for instance, in the case of the famous Creek speaker Hobohîl Yâhola. Probably it will never be possible to say whether this phratral exogamy was breaking down or growing in times known to us. In recent years the principal function performed by these moieties has been to determine the line-up of the players in practice games within the town. The important bearing the mere character of a name may have in social evolution is shown by the fact that, on account of the name, persons of European blood were usually reckoned as "friends" of the Hathagas, and in consequence the latter acquired a reputation as "progressives," while the Tcilokis were considered, and acted like, "conservatives."

621 Besides the clans, phratries, and moieties there were certain groups
624 in each town which had official functions. Some of these were

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determined by the individual ability—usually military—of those who belonged to them. Thus a man might start his public career as a common warrior or tàsikaia, a word now often translated "citizen," be promoted to the position of an imała łàbotski, or "Little Imała," then to that of an imała łàko, or "Big Imała," and finally become a tàstanàgi, or "war leader." If sufficiently prominent he might be made a tàstànàgi łàko or holibonaia, "war speaker," though of these there was never more than one in a town at any one time. There were "beds" or seats in the square grounds for each of these classes, but not all were promoted into them. Men who belonged to the clan of the chief (miko) would be given seats in his section and form the mikàlgi, "chiefs," who acted as a kind of special executive council. If they belonged to a certain clan known as henihàlgi, they would be given seats in another place. The functions of the henihàlgi are somewhat uncertain but they were concerned largely with the maintenance of peace and charged themselves with the internal prosperity of the tribe. The henihàlgi were almost always formed of the Wind clan, and if, for any reason, the Wind clan could not be used, the Bird or Beaver, or at least some clan considered White, would take their place. There was also a class of men called ist-atcagagi, the old, experienced men from all tribes, retired from active service but keepers of the tribal lore. It seems fairly evident that a correlation existed anciently between White towns, White clans, and the henihàlgi, and that the miko of a White town was generally chos. from a White clan. It is even possible that the miko of a Red town was formerly chosen from a White clan. Certainly there is a marked tendency to choose chiefs from the Bear clan, even in Red towns, though many of them are also from the Raccoon and the Aktayatci.

A word must now be said regarding the ceremonial grounds. Originally every Creek town had such a ground which at a still earlier period was probably the ceremonial ground of a small tribe. As a tribe increased in numbers, however, the ground often became too small to accommodate all of its members comfortably and so it split into two or more. Undoubtedly, before the organization of the Creek Confederation, there was great diversity among these grounds and a certain element of diversity has persisted until the present day, but on the other hand considerable standardization has undoubtedly taken place. Creek legend asserts that the first ceremonial ground was given to the Coweta, the Kasihta, or the Tukabahchee by the Breath Controller or by other supernatural beings, and copied by the remaining towns from them. While this represents a modern

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posts are used for the seating of as many clans, groups of clans or related officials. 344

Considerable variation in the ancient and intended plan has been brought about by the attrition which the tribe and its several divisions have undergone, loss of the keepers of the sacred lore, and other factors, but it is plain that normally one of the four cabins was mainly devoted to the miko and his clan. Hence it was called mikálgi (or mikági) intupa, the "Chiefs' bed." Another was devoted mainly to the henihálgi and was named from them, another to the higher class of warriors, the tástánágálgi, and so received their name, and still another to the novitiate warriors or youths from whom it was called tásikaiálgi intupa or tcibánágálgi intupa. The positions of these in the square ground varies considerably. It should be stated in the first place that the cabins are placed normally toward the four points of the compass, but that for some unexplained reason in the square of Tukabahchee the entrances are toward the cardinal points. In the old Kasihta square, which seems to have set the fashion for many other towns, the mikos' cabin lay west, the henihas' south, the tástánágis' north, and the tásikaias' east. In the Okfuskee towns, of which Nuyaka is an example, the mikos' cabin lay north, the henihas' east, the tástánágis' west, and the tásikaias' south. In Pakan Tallahassee the mikos' cabin is north, the henihas' south, the tástánágis' west, and there is no east cabin. In Eufaula the mikos' cabin is north, the henihas' east and the tástánágis' south, the west cabin being missing. In Alabama, where there are but two cabins, the mikos' cabin is east.

The other variations in the arrangement of the squares will come out in the subjoined material, but before presenting it something must be said regarding town officials.

The miko, as already stated, was chief of the town, its head [622] presiding officer and responsible executive. Like many of the other 624 officers he had a special companion or henîha taken from the Wind clan or whatever clan occupied the position of henihálgi. This henîha is sometimes called miko apokta, "second chief," but the latter name is also given to still another functionary who shares the burdens of state with his superior. The chief had one or more yatikas or interpreters who also bore the name asimbonaia, "speakers." Unless wanted to make an announcement or to send upon an errand, they sat with their clan or other group to which they normally belonged. The tástánágí łáko and holibonaia have been mentioned. The position of holibonaia, "war speaker" was the most exalted military position, and it is possible that there was only one such official at a time in

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624 the entire Creek Nation. It was the position occupied by Hobohīl Yàhola, famous leader of the Creeks during their removal west and all of their subsequent troubled history until the Civil War. He was not a miko even of one town, but his influence was actually greater than that of any miko, or any number of them. There were two ta'pala, whose chief function was to act as messengers before and during the women's dance, and there were two singers for the women (inyahaikàlgi, "singers for them"), who sat at the end of one of the cabins just in front of the spot where the women began dancing. They were usually selected for their knowledge of songs rather than on account of their clan affiliations. The hilis haya was the head priestly functionary. He supervised the preparation of the medicines and gave them their final potency and he ordered everything in any way touching upon the supernatural. He was assisted by one or more men called hilis tcàlaba or "medicine mixers," whose functions are defined by the name, and by two or more young men called hilis hoboia, "medicine gatherers," who collected the red root, pasa, and other plants that went into the sacred medicine. Some towns seem to have had a separate official called tutka dīdja, "fire builder," to start the fire, but in others the hilis haya did that, and there was instead a tutka oktidīdja, "gatherer of wood" for the fire. A number of boys known as oidjawàlgi brought water for the medicines. In one town we learn of ahaga haiyàlgi, "law makers," who are said to carry out the instructions of the tàstànàgis and may be identical with the imałas elsewhere mentioned. There were also officers called simiabaia, or "leaders." The hoktàgi immiko, "chief of the women," and his henīha, may have been identical with the ta'palas. Anciently the tàstànàgis and their assistants acted as town police, but nowadays three or four light horsemen are selected at random to police the square ground during ceremonies, and there are boys called "dog whippers" with long whips stationed at each opening into the square during the women's dance to drive away dogs. Many of these officers were chosen for four years only. If one died before the expiration of his term, a substitute was selected from the same clan, which seems to indicate that the position was something of a clan prerogative.

796 Of the ceremonies which took place on these grounds, only two have survived. One, called by the popular local name of "stomp dance," was confined to the people of the town and was simple in character, the miko hoyanīdja (red willow) being ordinarily the only medicine used during it. There were no dances other than the common and relatively secular ones, no ceremonial lighting of the fires, no

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[For seating arrangements of village officials and religious functionaries in square grounds, see category 621]